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CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART XIII

"STRESS AND STRAIN IN THE CABINET"

(25 Oct - 18 Dec 1937)
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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 253
(25 October 1937)

Kido Becomes Minister

I was invited by MATSUDAIRA, Yoshitami, to his private residence on the 17th. We had lunch together and I heard various stories about the Prince during his stay in England and how hard Ambassador YOSHIDA had worked for Anglo-Japanese friendship.

According to KIDO, KONOYE had said that he received a letter from me and had said that his opinions and mine were different. He said it couldn't be helped. It was further mentioned that the meeting of the State Councillors would be cancelled and the proposal would be circulated among the various members. KIDO said: "That is not good. If men like the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and Justice Minister SHIONO should go around among the members, we cannot tell what they will say. Rather than that, it would be better if they gathered about once a week and had discussions. In other words, it is better for them to meet each other." Influenced by KIDO's warning, the meeting of the State Councillors was decided to be held every Tuesday afternoon, immediately after lunch.

I went to Okitsu on the 18th and inquired into the situation that night from the War Minister. The War Minister said: "The War is progressing favorable and since there are orders not to proceed North of the line extending from Pao-tung to Shihchi-achwang, there are only minor skirmishes at present which are not very serious."

I called the Navy Vice Minister on the phone and he said: "Generally, we would like to capture Shanghai and we would like to see some kind of conclusion by the end of November."

The Foreign Minister's story was this: "The American Ambassador appeared and said: 'Why doesn't Japan join the Nine

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Power Conference and present her opinions?' He was very encouraging and said: 'The nature of this conference is such, that matters are decided by agreement. It is not a coercive one in which the fate of Japan is to be decided or where punishment is meted out.' The English Ambassador also came to my place and said: 'The Nine Power Conference endeavors to decide on a third nation that will be charged with the responsibility of mediation between China and Japan, so how about joining?' I said to both of the Ambassadors: 'As far as our government is concerned, there is nothing definite yet. Under the present situation, it is difficult for us to join the conference. In the end, Japan and China would like to decide among themselves. It can be either England or America, but if one of them should secretly act as an intermediary, we would be very happy.'

I called AOKI, Kazuo, who was to be the Vice Chief of the Planning Bureau by telephone. He said: "In the end, it seems as if the Planning Bureau will handle North China matters. Both the Army and Navy are in approval of this, but the Foreign Ministry is the only one that is opposed to this. However, it is expected that they will comply in the end."

I then called the Finance Minister on the telephone and he said: "In order that the State Councillors will be familiar with the various problems when they meet, we would like to meet them prior to this and give them a little preparatory information."

I went to the Prince's place on the morning of the 19th and reported on the recent situation. I had called KONOYE on the telephone that very morning and KONOYE had inquired: "Did the Prince say anything concerning the problem of the State Councillors?" I replied: "I have not met the Prince yet, but I will tell you of the details when I do meet him." I mentioned this to Prince Saionji. The Prince was not very well pleased

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about the appointment of MATSUOKA and AKITA. He was slightly disappointed and said: "It seems as if KONOYE is half HIRANUMA's prisoner." I said: "However, KONOYE has said that you are thinking too badly of HIRANUMA. He says he isn't that bad, actually." The Prince replied: "In ancient history, men like TAKAUJI were of mediocre character. However, it is these mediocre personalities that accomplish such things, so you must be careful." He was still deeply concerned about the methods of terminating the War.

The State Councillors were appointed on the 16th, and I learned that they had a meeting at the Premier's residence after the cabinet meeting at noon on the 19th. I called KONOYE on the phone and inquired of the situation and KONOYE replied happily that they were all relatively cheerful. I commented that it was very good.

At approximately 7:30 on the night of the 20th, KONOYE telephoned and said that YASUI was resigning because of illness. He wanted to appoint KIDO and although the Lord Keeper was in agreement, Minister of the Imperial Household MATSUDAIRA was in disapproval concerning the successor to the President of the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry. Therefore, although he thought it would succeed in the end, he desired me to influence the Minister of the Imperial Household so that he would agree. KONOYE asked me if I would talk to him that night, but I had to call Okitsu and gain the Prince's understanding first.

When I called Okitsu, the Prince said: "It depends on the person. I am not in a position to direct him myself." Several times in the past, he had said: "Isn't there some way of placing KIDO close to KONOYE?" I roughly understood Prince SAIONJI's feelings, so when I inquired about KIDO, KONOYE said: "KIDO has already agreed." Before that, KIDO had already

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said: "No matter what the position, I would like to aid KONOYE." Therefore, I thought that he had agreed, but there was the matter that KONOYE had mentioned to me previously. I called Minister of the Imperial Household MATSUDAIRA by phone and agreed to meet him at nine on the 21st.

I went to the Minister's official residence on the 21st and met the Minister of the Imperial Household. The Minister said: "It's about KIDO isn't it?" So I said: "This matter of personnel cannot be left as it is for even a minute, so I want you to make a decision before noon." MATSUDAIRA replied: "This may have to be so, but we will be troubled later with various matters." I said: "You can negotiate leisurely with KIDO and during that time the Vice Minister of the Imperial Household can concurrently hold that post." MATSUDAIRA replied: "At any rate, I will call KIDO and after conferring with him, I will report to the Emperor. I will give you my answer after I receive His Majesty's permission."

At noon, KIDO, MATSUDAIRA and I went to the A-2 for lunch. KIDO said: "MATSUDAIRA plans to go to KONOYE's place so he can return his courtesies." KIDO said to me: "If the Minister of the Imperial Household should visit the Premier at this time, the newspaper reporters will be annoying to the greatest degree. Why don't you tell that to the Premier?"

When I mentioned this to KONOYE, he answered: "I do not want that to happen. I am hurrying things as much as possible right now, but if the Minister of the Imperial Household should visit me now, the public will be bothersome, regardless of what the contents of the visit may be. Will you ask him to call me by telephone?"

I relayed the message to the Minister of the Imperial Household by telephone. Around four o'clock there was a call from the Minister of the Imperial Household and he said: "I

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mentioned the matter to the Emperor, and His Majesty has approved." In this way, the choice of KIDO was finally made. When the Imperial Household Minister called me, he said that he also notified KONOYE by phone. The matter was decided in the evening of the 21st, and on the 22nd, KIDO's appointment was proposed at the cabinet meeting. At four in the afternoon the investiture was held.

On the morning of the 23rd, I visited the Foreign Minister and questioned him concerning various subjects. The Foreign Minister said: "The primary object of the Nine Power Conference of 1922 lay in the protection of Chinese territory and the preservation of administrative sovereignty. Japan realized that she must maintain an opening in which she could carry out negotiations with the various countries and she plans to work on it gradually. Concerning the Japan-Italy Pact, it is Mussolini's wish that Italy take on the appearances of joining the Japanese-German Pact. That was what Ambassador HORIUCHI said."

I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal on the morning of the 23rd and talked with him for approximately two hours concerning recent details of the amnesty proclamation issue. The Lord Keeper said: "The Emperor did not want to tell KONOYE that he was opposed to it because it would be too harsh, although he had a desire to speak frankly with him. But, the other day, he said to Premier KONOYE: 'On the whole, I am opposed to this problem.' After he said this, he talked of various other problems." The other day the War Minister said to Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal BABA: "I would like to go to Premier KONOYE's place and tell him that I object to the amnesty problem." Home Minister BABA said: "Try and refrain from speaking directly to Premier KONOYE," and he stopped him.

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The reason the War Minister had said such determined things was because there was the Imperial Rescript given to the War Minister after the February 26 Incident, during the term of office of Gen. TERAUCHI. TERAUCHI kept this to himself and did not publish it. He did not transmit the documents to War Minister SUGIYAMA and left it in the War Minister's drawer instead. The document which the Emperor had strongly written said: "The arising of such a thing as the February 26 Incident violates the Military Rescript of Emperor MEIJI. In addition, it debases the history of our country, Japan." As long as we received such a rescript, it is much too early to talk of amnesty, etc., for the ones who participated in such incidents. Not only that, but it was absolutely impossible to agree to such things. That was the opinion of the War Minister.

Concerning the proclamation of amnesty, Minister of Education YASUI felt deeply concerned. Minister of Education YASUI is imitating the university professor of history, HIRAIZUMI, Cho, for that is the professor's theory. This man called HIRAIZUMI, Cho, is not considered as one of their own group by the scholars, and it is said that today, he is joining actual political movements to a small degree.

According to stories, just before Minister of Education resigned, he seemed to have encouraged Premier KONOYE to resign. According to KIDO's story he came about five or six days ago to KIDO's residence and said: "Premier KONOYE must resign by all means. With such cabinet members, he will never be able to accomplish anything and he will never be able to fully fulfill his wishes. Prince KONOYE will be a marked man." He tried his best to make KONOYE resign. KIDO retorted: "You must never say such things at such a time. It is outrageous to talk of

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resigning." Even in the Education Ministry and the academic world, YASUI has a very bad reputation and he seemed quite irritated because he could not do as he wished. These seemed to be the reasons which promoted him to resign.

On the night of the 24th, the War Minister, former Foreign Minister ARITA and myself had supper together and I asked them various questions. According to them the public was saying: "KOISO will come to Tokyo. He will be made a full general and will become a War Councillor. In the meantime, he will wait for the resignation of SUGIYAMA and KOISO will take his place!" However, there is not the least sign of such tendencies and the War Minister does not seem to be considering at all whether KOISO will take the spotlight or will become the Korean Army Commander of the Taiwan Army Commander. Concerning the termination of the China War, they were very worried, saying: "The methods of terminating the Incident have leaked out to the Social Democratic Party (Shakaito)." They said: "Various people come, who visited KONOYE previously, so KONOYE may have revealed it." They were very worried, but I believed that probably KAZAMI, instead of KONOYE, disclosed it.

It was learned that the various kindly precautions that ARITA had given KONOYE had become known to IWANAGA. IWANAGA told ARITA that, and ARITA seemed highly irritated by it and said: "At any rate, both KIDO and I plan to caution KONOYE gradually, but if we should overdo it, we will be hurting his feelings. We are trying to choose the best possible methods because we do not want any harmful effects and we are waiting for the opportune moment."

Chapter 254
(3 November 1937)

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I went to Okitsu on the 26th, and met the Prince. The Prince inquired: "KONOYE, no doubt, has some ideas as to a rough solution concerning this problem of the termination of the China Incident. I wonder what he's going to do?" I said: "I will ask him more about it next time." The Prince was overjoyed at learning that KIDO had become the Education Minister, and said: "He should be able to aid KONOYE now. It was very good."

I met KIDO on the night of the 27th. KIDO said: "Yesterday evening BABA, KONOYE and I had supper together. KONOYE said: 'It will not be good if BABA should have any doubts, so how about eating together sometime?' We had a good talk among the three of us." Concerning their conversation, KIDO said: "BABA repeatedly brought out the amnesty proclamation problem and said: 'The younger men in the Police Bureau are beginning to find fault and I am worried lest they start a movement to lodge a petition.' BABA said this to KONOYE but KONOYE listened to this passively and he seemed desirous of avoiding agreeing with BABA. Therefore, it seems as if BABA is the only one who is greatly concerned about it."

I visited the Navy Minister on the morning of the 28th. The Navy Minister said: "I met SHIONO. So I asked him what happened to the amnesty problem. SHIONO said that since that was a difficult issue, it was left up to the Premier."

I inquired of the situation from the Chief of the Metropolitan Police in the afternoon. The Chief of Police was not very worried about and said: "We know all about the details of the amnesty problem."

Count KAWAYAMA came to my home after that and said:

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"Our relations with England are very bad. The English Ambassador realized that the members of the British Embassy in Tokyo were also in a state of coma and said: 'This is bad. I want a little more encouragement from the Japan-England Society. I want them to work in closer cooperation so as to avoid excessive friction.' The English have appealed to Japanese intellectuals connected with England and to the younger men in order to ease the situation. We are also of the same desire. In order to do this, we need money. We intend to open an office and commence our undertaking by collecting about two hundred yen, each month, from MITSUI, MITSUBISHI, SUMITOMO and various international steamship companies concerned with foreign trade—especially those connected with England such as the Nippon Yusen and Osaka Shosen. How about SUMITOMO?" I replied: "Of course, I think it can be done. However, is such a paltry sum sufficient?"

At any rate, I thought it would be better if I went to Osaka and spoke directly with OGURA. I went to Osaka on the 29th on the "Fuji" and I talked to OGURA about this problem plus other business matters. I returned on the evening of the 30th and at 6:00 the four of us—Gen. ABO, Baron IWANURA, Baron GO and myself—had supper at Baron GO's residence. We talked of the various problems of the times and I returned after 10:30.

I talked with the War Minister by phone on the 31st. The War Minister and Premier KONOYE had a good talk concerning the amnesty problem and the War Minister said: "I explained at length to the Prince, that speaking from the situation within the Army circles, it was very troublesome to receive such an Imperial proclamation and that this would hamper the preservation of unity in the Army. I said: 'I am not absolutely opposed to it, but it is undesirable at this stage. It might

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be permissible if things cooled down a little more and the amnesty covered a wider range. But, it is very undesirable to grant amnesty covering only that incident. The time is also bad and considering it from all angles, I wish you would wait a little longer.' The Premier also said: 'I am not in any great hurry, so let us do it slowly....', and we parted."

I went to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's residence early on the morning of the 1st and talked with him concerning various topics. The Lord Keeper said: "Everything concerning Prince KONOYE is going along very smoothly. I think he is a great Premier as far as Premiers are concerned, but that amnesty problem is indeed a regrettable one. This is very bad. This has already become known to the Rightists and I hear that they are saying that I am the only one opposing the problem of the amnesty proclamation, and that the Metropolitan Police are quite worried about it."

"On the other hand, the anti-British movement is gaining great popularity. Their slogan is the opposition of Japanese and British friendship, but actually, their object is to oppose British policies. In the final analysis, there are those who are discussing the purely practical problems and those who are advocating the downfall of pro-British sentiment in order to attack the Genro and the Chief Vassals. Indirectly, they are saying: 'The officials close to the Emperor have always been pro-British and this must not be tolerated.' Instead of attacking the actual problem, there are some who want to bring about the downfall of the Genro and Chief Vassals by using this problem as a tool."

I returned after that and there was a telephone call from ARITA. ARITA said: "I heard from CBTA over the telephone that KONOYE is attempting to promote the resignation of HIROTA by

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using TOYAMA. Is it true?"

There was a telephone call from KONOYE around noon and he asked me if I wouldn't join him for lunch. Although I had eaten my lunch, I went to KONOYE's place in order to speak to him. During our conversation, I questioned him concerning his desire to have HIROTA resign. KONOYE said: "TOYAMA, Shuzo, son of TOYAMA, Mitsuru, came to my place and said: 'HIROTA is an important man and it would be bad if his reputation should be hurt. Therefore, I would like to have HIROTA resign now. Isn't that way better for you too?' I replied: 'That is absolutely impossible. I haven't the least thought of having HIROTA resign,' and turned him down."

I inquired: "How about the rumor of having HIROHATA becoming the next President of the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry?" KONOYE replied: "That matter is still left untouched. I am considering Marquis OKUBO." I replied that it was utterly impossible, and said: "Hasn't it been the practice for the Minister of the Imperial Household to select the President of the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry instead of the Premier?" Prince KONOYE agreed that it was the Minister of Imperial Household who made the decision.

Prince KONOYE mentioned the details concerning Prince CHICHIBU, and said: "Prince CHICHIBU inspected Germany very thoroughly, and he said: 'In Germany, also, they are very excited about a German-Japanese anti-comintern pact, etc. However, there is great disunity among them and even from the standpoint of economics and finance, it is very unfavorable. They are importing vegetables from Brazil by some method, but it is not known how they are paying for this. In Japan, they become rabid pro-Britishers and equally enthusiastic pro-Germans, but we must look at international relations with

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calm judgment in conformity with the world situation.' That was what Prince CHICHIBU had said." Prince KONOYE concluded: "Prince HIGASHIKUNI is a strong pro-Britisher." I said: "Whatever the case, it is not well to misjudge the main issue by being carried away by one's feelings," and returned.

The War Minister said: "The place called Taiyuan in North China that we have to attack at this time, is also considered highly important by China. It is said that there are 30 divisions concentrated there."

I went to Okitsu on the 1st and consolidating all past events, reported them to the Prince. Pertaining to the Grand Imperial Headquarters problem, the Prince said: "A Grand Imperial Headquarters, consisting only of military men, is very dangerous. Of course, men like KONOYE and the Foreign Minister are going to be in it too aren't they?" I replied: "No doubt it must be so, but I'll talk to them further." I then showed the Prince the secret writings concerned with the conclusion of the China Incident and the document that the Supreme Commander had submitted to the Emperor which Prince KONOYE had instructed me to show.

I returned on the 2nd. At noon I had lunch with ARITA and MATSUDAIRA, Yoshimasa. At that time, ARITA said that the anti-British movement was very strong and that great caution was necessary. I instructed them to talk to the heads of the spinning industry who were anti-British and show them the advantages and disadvantages by having INOKI talk to MIYAJIMA, Seijiro, and by having IKEDA talk to TSUDA, Shingo.

In the evening, I visited the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board and made inquiries concerning the Police Bureau Chief's story of the amnesty proclamation problem. I then visited the Foreign Minister and questioned him about various

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problems.

The Foreign Minister invited the industrialists to tea yesterday and he said at the meeting: "This anti-British movement is very bad. If England is disregarded, there will be no country that will act as an intermediary between Japan and China. Therefore, if such things are done now, the government will be troubled. In the end, we may have to fight England. We may also have to collide with her sometime, but such things are absolutely out of the question right now. Diplomatically— if such things are done now, the government will be greatly inconvenienced." MIYAJIMA, Seijiro, said that if that was the opinion of the government, they would of course stop it.

Furthermore, the problem of whether Foreign Minister HIROTA should resign or not was brought out. At that time, I thought that TOYAMA, Shuzo had gone directly to Prince KONOYE's place, but found out that he had requested OGAWA, Heikichi to go to KONOYE's residence to inquire about the situation.

It was finally decided that Envoy TANI would be recalled from Vienna and would be made to serve. Concerning this problem, I had formerly said to the Foreign Minister and the Vice Minister: "There is a decided lack of personnel. Again, there are only a few men who can do the work. Instead of uneconomically using TANI at such a post, how about recalling SAWADA or TANI and using them?" I said this repeatedly.

I also heard KONOYE say of SHIRATORI: "He gives an impression of a megalomaniac. If he is left like that he will be even worse than Ambassador FONDA, Kumataro, in the end." KONOYE was worried, so I said to the Foreign Minister: "How about appointing SHIRATORI?" Although the Foreign Minister seemed to agree, I said: "Please confer fully with KONOYE concerning this problem," and parted from him.

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Chapter 255
(18 November 1937)

Emperor versus Cabinet

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the morning of the 4th, I (HARADA) visited YAMAMOTO, the Vice-Minister of the Navy, at his official residence at Reinanzaka. I asked him about the Grand Imperial Headquarters matter. He stated: "The Navy is desirous that a Grand Imperial Headquarters be established in the narrow sense of national defense. Truthfully speaking, there is a great deal of doubt whether a Grand Imperial Headquarters is necessary now. The Navy doesn't recognize that need. If a Grand Imperial Headquarters is to be established as the highest command section of the Army's and Navy's joint operations, we will consent, although reluctantly. The plan is also agreeable if a Grand Imperial Headquarters is established with the inclusion of Ministers of State who are civil officials; if General Staff Headquarters and Naval Operations are reduced to the status of operations bureaus in the War and Navy Ministries; and if everything is to be under the command of the War and Navy Ministers. However, if the Premier is included in the Grand Imperial Headquarters as a 'robot' and the Cabinet is used as a measure to carry out Fascist politics, the Navy is very definitely against it."

Then I (HARADA) stopped by at the place of the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board. The Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board said: "Anti-British movements are very much on the increase. However, it is my duty to keep order and I am hoping that I can prevent any rash

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acts." He further stated: "We have definite information as to who is behind the request for the promulgation of an Imperial edict. (On the 50th anniversary of the Constitution, the Emperor was going to issue a decree of amnesty. The rightists were trying to use this opportunity to request the pardon of political prisoners and those involved in the Feb. 26 Incident. The Premier approved of this, having been influenced by certain members of the Army. However, the Emperor, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and others of the Imperial Household Ministry were opposed.) As matters stand at present, I do not think there is any chance for its realization (the promulgation of an Imperial edict in favor of the rightists).

On the way home, I (HARADA) visited the Police Bureau Chief at his official residence. He was worried about the movements of the left and right wings after the war, but there was nothing especially important. I (HARADA) told both the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board and the Police Bureau Chief: "In these circumstances, there is need for Japan to take a very calm attitude. To become excited is an extremely bad policy. We must endeavor to see that the people take a calm attitude in international matters and in all respects, so that they will not err in judging the situation after the war."

After I (HARADA) came home, I phoned the War Minister. I asked: "What's the latest on the problem of establishing a Grand Imperial Headquarters?" The War Minister replied: "That is still in the process of being studied. The publicity given out by the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet is doing it harm." The fact is that the subordinates of the War Minister, such as

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the Military Affairs Section Chief or KAGESA of General Staff Headquarters, are broadcasting the news through the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. It appeared to me that the War Minister spoke without this knowledge.

On the 5th, I (HARADA) met the Foreign Minister. He said: "The British Ambassador came to see me privately. He said to me (Foreign Minister): 'At this time, which country would be the best mediator?' I replied: 'Your country is still the best.' He said: 'From what I see of conditions in Japan, England seems to be despised. That makes me wonder if we would be the best.' I stated: 'England is the most suitable country. Haven't we been holding preliminary conversations with you for some time?' It was England's report that after looking at the situation in China, it seemed a little as if those who are near CHIANG Kai-shek wished to settle matters with Japan. I (Foreign Minister) told the British Ambassador: 'Nothing can be settled if Germany and Italy come into the picture.' The British Ambassador said: 'The Emperor mentioned the matter to me the other day when I had dinner with him. He seemed to desire very much that the relationship between Japan and England be intimate, and there is also that personal letter that was written to him from the late King of England (George V wrote a letter to the Emperor of Japan in which he stressed friendship between England and Japan). Therefore, I intend to take precautions so that public opinion in England and the feelings of British officials in China will not run too high.' After this, the British Ambassador went home.

"A little while later, the attitude of the British officials in China, that is, the British Army Commander

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at Shanghai, gradually became moderate. It was probably the result of CRAIGIE's wire to England. I (Foreign Minister) told the British Ambassador: 'As I have always said, the Japan-Italy Pact is not the whole of Japan's foreign policy. That is to say, it is only a part of our foreign policy. It doesn't mean that we want to set ourselves against a third nation. Please keep this point well in mind.'"

Later on, I (HARADA) met Premier KONOYE. He said: "The problem of establishing a Grand Imperial Headquarters is still being studied." I (HARADA) met KIDO, but there were no particularly important changes. KIDO was worried about a successor to his own post, that of President of the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry of the Imperial Household Ministry. KONOYE had said: "How about Marquis OKUBO?" KIDO was decidedly opposed to this. I told him: "I explained fully to KONOYE that, 'Marquis OKUBO is not a suitable person.'"

On the 8th, I (HARADA) visited Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu. Prince SAIONJI was concerned and said: "Recently, the newspapers have been writing exaggerated stories about the advances of the Army. They write about the number of men killed, as if the greater the number, the greater the deed. The Government must have an idea how far they intend to go and what they intend to do. They must proceed with a general intention in mind, but just what are they planning?" I replied: "Of course, they couldn't be doing things at random or recklessly, but...." I reported to Prince SAIONJI what I had heard the other day from the Vice-Minister of the Navy and the talk that the Foreign Minister, had with the British

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Ambassador. After this, I returned home that day.

On the 10th, I (HARADA) met the Prime Minister at his private residence. He said: "It has been decided that the Grand Imperial Headquarters would exist purely as the highest command section of the Supreme Military Command Office."

In the evening of the 10th, MATSUURA came over. He said: "This is a message from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Emperor asked the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: 'The war situation in Shanghai has progressed quite a bit. North China has almost taken shape. If, by any chance, there should be a request for peace from the other side at this time, we are not prepared at all. I am thinking of talking to KONOYE about holding a council in my presence in order to make preparations. Do you think it is advisable?' The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's reply was: 'It is a very important matter. I think it might be better to ascertain the opinion of the Genro (Prince SAIONJI) first.' The Emperor ordered: 'In that case, please ask the Genro his opinion right away.' Therefore, will you (HARADA) go to Okinawa immediately and talk to Prince SAIONJI?"

I (HARADA) thought that if I went with just MATSUDAIRA's story, I might find myself unable to reply in case I was asked various questions. The next morning, that is, at 7:30 on the 11th, I (HARADA) visited the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at his private residence. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "The Emperor inquired: 'If the other side should ask for peace with the war situation as it is today, it doesn't seem as if we are prepared to handle that request. Shouldn't we

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have something decided? I would like to talk to the Premier about starting preparations for a meeting in my presence to decide on something. That is to say, there are no preparations now from what I can see. There is no plan at present to make those preparations. I am thinking of asking whether we shouldn't have that plan made. What do you think? I (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) replied: 'This is a very important matter. The Genro (Prince SAIONJI) may have his opinion. Why not ask the Genro beforehand and then talk to the Prime Minister?'

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal further stated: "There is the Grand Imperial Headquarters and the Cabinet. There is something to act as liaison between the two. It doesn't matter what that is, but it is distressing if something definite isn't set up. Looking at the present state of affairs, the difference of opinion between Army men in China, men without political authority and those who hold responsible positions in the Government, is very great. If matters keep on in this manner, there is much concern as to how they will turn out in the end. Premier KONOYE doesn't seem to be trying to take any measures (to lessen the differences between the Army men in China and the Government officials). As I watch him, it seems that he is always passive.

"MACHIJIRI, the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, says: 'In order to suppress the Army men in China, we intend to do so with an Imperial command.' However, it is distressing that there are no methods by which the command could come from the Emperor of his own volition. The Emperor says: 'KONOYE is just watching the military

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do as they please.' The Emperor desires to arrange matters to make it as easy as possible for KONOYE to carry out his duties. Premier KONOYE heard nothing from the Supreme Military Command Office or the War Minister concerning operations to go as far as Pao-ting in North China and stopping there. He learned of it through the Emperor. Since he heard this, the situation of the operations has been changing, but the Premier hasn't heard about it. The military are acting on their own selfish volition. Matters which should be considered together with finance or foreign policies of the nation are in a state in which there is no margin for collaboration. I am very alarmed, and I think something should be done about this point." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was very worried.

I (HARADA) then met KIDO. I told him that I had talked to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal before I was to depart. KIDO said: "That did not originate from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. When Premier KONOYE had an audience with the Emperor, he said, as an idle complaint with extremely slight meaning: 'I have heard nothing about the operations of the Army and such. There is nothing for me to do but just watch them do as they please.' The Emperor seemed to have felt sorry for him. It is a fact that the Emperor desired to make things easy for KONOYE."

Before I (HARADA) departed (for Okitsu), I also met the Foreign Minister. He said: "We intend to send the Government's reply regarding the Nine Power Treaty after we decide on it as the Cabinet meeting on Friday." The Foreign Minister further stated: "The German Ambassador says: 'It is better to talk to China after the Nine Power

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Conference is over. The time is not yet ripe.' The German Ambassador hears from Germany that the desires of the Chinese Government are: 'We want conditions restored to what they were before the Incident.'

"The Italian Ambassador was worried and said: 'It is still too early for Japan to start peace negotiations (with China). Italy intends to reject the Nine Power Conference. If she withdraws at the same time, she can effect the dissolution of the Conference. If she merely rejects the Conference but remains nominally as a member, the other nations which attend will decide matters, and this will be distressing.'

"The Councillor of the American Embassy came to the Foreign Ministry. He came to sound out Japan and said: 'During the Russo-Japanese War, both countries accepted at the same time, the conditions presented by United States with the latter acting as mediator. Would Japan consider anything like that in this Incident?'

"This is absolutely top secret. Germany may recognize Manchukuo around November 25. They are requesting our recognition of the new government in Spain. If we recognize it, they will recognize Manchukuo at the same time. Italy will follow and recognize it also. If matters turn out this way, an atmosphere will be created in which the major powers will begin recognizing Manchukuo even if we do not adhere to the recognition as a condition in the peace negotiations with China. Thus, we can place more emphasis on other matters. That is, we can present other more important conditions, and we do not intend to present this (recognition of Manchukuo) as a condition (to China)."

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"We have sent three very capable and competent section chiefs from the Foreign Ministry to Shanghai. It looks as if the Army will insist that China acknowledge their right to send occupation troops to China."

On the 11th, I (HARADA) went to Okitsu, and met Prince SAIONJI. Prince SAIONJI said: "What can Japan do in league with Italy and Germany? I have great doubts about that. I do not think it makes any sense. There is a great deal of sense if Japan should think of United States to the East and Great Britain to the West. Just what sense is there in getting together with the first two countries?" He was very concerned.

I (HARADA) reported to Prince SAIONJI the problem of the Emperor's inquiry through the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. Prince SAIONJI said: "There is nothing to do but to have Premier KONOYE express his opinions at a council in the Imperial presence. Furthermore, the Army says that they will suppress the military in China by saying it is the Emperor's wish. What are they going to do if it (suppression) cannot actually be effected in this way? There is no way of withdrawing the Emperor's statement once it is made. It would be alarming if the Emperor were to be the target of detrimental propaganda. If they are asking for my advice, I would say that the Premier should first be questioned regarding his opinion. Then, after all arrangements have been made by the Government, the Government should be the one to make the request (for a council in the Imperial presence). It would be distressing if a council were held in the Imperial presence as a result of an Imperial order."

He (SAIONJI) further stated: "The military men in

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China probably would not come back even if they were told to come back immediately. There must be no fear that they (Army) will try to handle the situation by saying that it is an Imperial wish or decision. What will they do in case the matter is handled in that manner and then (Army men in China) do not submit to the Imperial wish? This would mean a blemish on sovereign authority, and would be inexcusable. Thus, it requires a very discreet attitude. If it (council in Imperial presence) is to be really carried out with the Emperor making decisions, a great deal of preparations must be made beforehand. This is an entirely different problem (from a council held in the Imperial presence with the Premier presiding; the Emperor should only direct questions, but make no decisions). This (council in Imperial presence with the Emperor making decisions) should not be done. It is extremely dangerous. If a council is to be held in the Imperial presence, it should in the same way as when the Emperor attends the meetings of the Privy Council. It should not go to the extent of the Emperor handing down decisions." He (SAIONJI) repeatedly said: "The Imperial Sovereign rights must not be blemished...."

In the conversation, Prince SAIONJI told this story.

"During Emperor KOMEI's reign, anti-foreign movements were popular. He sent an Imperial messenger to worship at the Ise Shrine (for success of the anti-foreign movement). Once when Marquis ASANO came out to Tokyo, he said: 'That visit to the Ise Shrine was not really Emperor KOMEI's own idea. It was a means instigated by high court officials attending the Emperor.' This is an extremely outrageous statement. It is absolutely false.

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The man who went as the Imperial messenger was my own father. That visit to the Shrine was really a result of Emperor KOMEI's own wish. To say of such a matter: 'That is not so,' and to make the Emperor the leading figure of false propaganda is very bad."

As I (HARADA) was leaving, Prince SAIONJI said to me: "This problem is very serious. The reply is too strong, it might put the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in a difficult position. Therefore, consult KIDO and reply to the Emperor in a way that will not distress the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal."

When I (HARADA) returned to Tokyo, I met KIDO and talked to him. I also met KONOYE. KONOYE said: "The import of what I told the Emperor was not something which had to be taken care of in a hurry." The Emperor doesn't know how to listen to the complaints of the Premier and the result was that he felt there was need for haste.

In any event, I (HARADA) went to the Palace on the 11th. I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in his Office and told him what Prince SAIONJI had said. I requested him to make a suitable reply to the Emperor. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal said: "I have exactly the same anxieties as the Genro (Prince SAIONJI). I, YUASA, am always careful. I keep telling the Emperor that matters must be carried out according to the responsibilities of the Government. Consequently, we shall ask the Government to make all the arrangements on this problem. I thought it necessary to ask for the Genro's opinion right now before the need arises. We definitely will not open a council in the Imperial presence at the Emperor's wish, that is, as an order from a superior to

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a subordinate. Please tell the Genro (Prince SAIONJI) that he need not worry about that."

I (HARADA) went to Osaka and Kyoto on the night train on the 12th. KONOYE called me by phone on the night of the 15th and said: "Please come home as soon as possible because some business has come up suddenly." I inquired: "Is it a matter of extreme concern?" He replied: "It is a matter of anxiety; however, you needn't worry too much." I asked: "Does it concern personnel?" The reply was: "It is personnel, but it is also a general matter." I thought about returning the next day, but I thought the earlier the better and leaving that night, I arrived in Tokyo in the morning of the 16th.

When KONOYE phoned, he had said: "When you arrive in Tokyo, please see KIDO right away." As soon as I (HARADA) reached there, I went to see KIDO. The story was: "The matter is none other than that KONOYE has started saying: 'I must resign immediately,' and I am very distressed. The recent motive is that the War Minister visited KONOYE. Some time ago, the President of the Planning Bureau had let out to the newspaper reporters: 'The Government has decided to give ¥5,000 condolence money for each war dead.' The War Minister was very distressed about this and said: 'The Army cannot agree with such an equal plan as they must consider rank and class. Not only this matter, but it is very distressing that various other things have leaked out from persons close to the Premier. Therefore, I ask that you carry out a reorganization of the Cabinet by all means. There are too many Ministers. I would like to have the number decreased to about five or six with some holding more

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than one post.' To this, KONOYE had replied: 'I do not have enough determination to carry that (reorganization) through. And yet, matters cannot go on as they are now. It would be opportune if I were to resign at the time the Grand Imperial Headquarters is established and when the second strategy (in China) is to be begun. However, I cannot wait that long.' Therefore, he (KONOYE) called me (KIDO) right away and said: 'Please consult HARADA and ask him to relay my intention to the Genro (Prince SAIONJI).'

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Chapter 256
(27 November 1937)

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Translated by Miss Miyako Yamamoto

KIDO stated: "It is extremely outrageous to think of such a thing (for KONOYE to think of resigning) at the present. It will be said that KONOYE died in the ditch. First of all, it would be an inexcusable act against the Emperor. Also, the people will receive a great shock. The people overrate the Emperor and their expectations from him are quite big. At present, a great number of them say: 'KONOYE is taking care of matters,' and have set their minds at ease. If something sudden like this should happen (resignation of KONOYE), there may be panic in the financial world. If the exchange should depreciate internationally, Japan would be unable to purchase anything from foreign countries. Looking at the situation from a diplomatic and political angle; if the central Government should do something like that when the officials in the field are doing their best and when the Army is gaining victories with a great deal of zest and is exerting itself to the utmost, China will make a mockery of it and Japan will lose prestige in the eyes of the other nations. Therefore, I think that a move at the present moment is definitely out. If he resigns and the Emperor asks the Genro (Prince SAIONJI) about the next Premier, he will probably suggest that the Emperor give the Imperial command (to form a Cabinet) again to KONOYE. If KONOYE has no intention of accepting that command, I (KIDO) told him I was against the message (KONOYE's intention to resign) being transmitted (to SAIONJI)."

I (HARADA) again met him (KIDO) on the morning of

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the 16th. The atmosphere seemed to have changed somewhat. KIDO asked me: "What do you think?" I replied: "I am completely in accord with you. I think it would definitely be better not to agree (with KONOZE) on this question. We must revitalize him and have him go on in the present manner. First of all, it would probably create a great sensation among the general public. Considering it from an individual standpoint, it will ruin KONOZE's future. That would be a calamity and must be stopped. Prince SAIONJI must at least be cognizant of the situation. In any event, I shall go to see him." On the night of the 16th, I went to Oiso. I departed early in the morning of the 17th to talk to Prince SAIONJI.

When I (HARADA) talked to him, Prince SAIONJI said: "It is out of the question. At any rate, it is a distressing matter. I really thought KONOZE had a great deal of vision, but it looks as if he doesn't have any judgment. That is distressing." I (HARADA) replied: "KONOZE has a great deal of vision. However, if he uses it once and is beaten, he withdraws. He is very cowardly and perhaps that makes it appear as if he doesn't have any vision." At any rate, Prince SAIONJI said: "You and KIDO try to encourage him. There is no other way but to force him ahead by saying it would be distressing if he were to do such a thing at present. Carry on with vigour." After this, I returned home.

I (HARADA) reached Tokyo Station at 3:25. I returned home immediately and phoned KIDO. KIDO said he would come at 4:00 o'clock. He came to my house at the appointed time. I told him that Prince SAIONJI had said: "First of all, refresh KONOZE's spirits. I want KIDO to assist him."

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Even if he says such things (speaks of resigning), it is out of the question." I added: "In any event, he (SAIONJI) says that KONOYE must be made to carry on for a little while longer." KIDO, of course, was in accord and said: "Please explain to him (KONOYE) fully." I said: "Of course, I shall see KONOYE and talk to him," then we parted.

At 5:00 o'clock, I (HARADA) met the Navy Minister and the Vice-Minister of the Navy at the Navy Minister's official residence. I talked about what had gone on between the War Minister and Premier KONOYE. I said: "I would like to ask the Navy Minister to help him behind the scenes and cheer him up a little." We conversed till around 6:30. As I had promised to have dinner with the War Minister and ARITA, the former Foreign Minister at the villa of Kinsui, I started to leave. The Navy Minister told me: "When you see the War Minister, it will be more effective on the War Minister if you come out first and a little firmly."

I (HARADA) immediately went to the villa of Kinsui and met the War Minister and ARITA, the former Foreign Minister. I asked the War Minister: "Just what did you say to KONOYE? Also, just what do you desire?" He replied: "I have nothing special in mind. AOKI, the Vice-President of the Planning Bureau, came to my place regarding the Planning Bureau problem of some time ago. He said: 'It's distressing that matters are like that.' He (AOKI) was very indignant about the fact that TAKI had let out about the condolence money for each war dead, etc. The Army had not yet decided on it. It (money) cannot be given out so uniformly. The Army cannot carry it out on

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an equal basis. Because of such problems, I complained somewhat when I met Premier KONOYE. As for myself, I am not considering a reorganization of the Cabinet or any such thing. The Grand Imperial Headquarters has been set up and it would be serious if KONOYE were to resign. We must proceed calmly in the present manner."

I (HARADA) replied rather strongly and said to the War Minister: "That is just the point. The young men under you and others are letting the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet give out news. Not knowing this, you say: 'Persons close to the Premier are giving out the news.' You should know that it is your own subordinates who are giving out the news. No matter what the situation, it is out of the question to talk of decreasing the number of men (in the Cabinet) or reorganizing (the Cabinet) at this time. If matters proceed calmly like this and if there are too many people, a Five-Minister Conference such as was held during the SAITO Cabinet could be formed. If there are any complaints from Cabinet Ministers who do not attend this meeting, KIDO could speak to each person individually. The War Minister shouldn't bring up various matters to the Premier just now. It is distressing if you do not calm down the Premier." He (War Minister) said: "That was my intention, too. However, the Premier asked me at that time: 'There is quite a bit of reorganization (of the Cabinet) discussion within the Army. Is that the desire of the young men?' I replied to the Premier: 'It is not the desire of only the young men. I am hoping for it too.' He may have taken this to mean that I was pressing the reorganization. However, I have not thought in my mind of wanting this

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done immediately." I (HARADA) said to the War Minister: "In that case, calm down a little and reprimand your subordinates. It is distressing if you cannot carry on without making a fuss. KIDO said he was going to see you too. Talk with KIDO, and I am asking you from behind the scenes to help soothe KONOYE on this occasion." ARITA, who was there, was very much in accord with this. ARITA also explained matters fully to the War Minister in that sense.

While we were conversing, KONOYE phoned me. When I (HARADA) talked to him on business, I told him: "I'll talk to you when I see you, but Prince SAIONJI said: 'Please give him my regards. Tell him to cheer up and not say such things (about resigning).'" He (KONOYE) said: "That is distressing to me. There is so much criticism against the Foreign Minister and I cannot answer for all of them." I said: "I'll see you the day after tomorrow and we'll converse at leisure." Then I cut our phone conversation.

After 9:00 o'clock, I (HARADA) left that place (villa of Kinsui) alone. I went to the private residence of IKEDA Seihin at Nagasaka. I asked IKEDA: "What would be the effect on the financial world if and when KONOYE should resign?" He replied: "The President of Keio University (KOIZUMI) is here right now and we were talking in the next room. The popularity of KONOYE in the rural areas and among the young people is very great. They say: 'He is the most noted Premier in history.' I hear it said: 'The response or the cry of praise to the Premier's speech at the public hall in Hibiya was very strong.' KOIZUMI was just saying: 'I hope that

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KONOYE isn't thinking of making any sudden changes.' If such a thing (resignation) should happen, the shock would be very disturbing."

I (HARADA) said: "If we try too conspicuously to help him or if he finds out that I visited you and requested your help, KONOYE might become even more agitated because he has a highly nervous temperament. That would be distressing. Will you talk this problem over with YUKI and soothe KONOYE? I would like to have you help KAYA, the Finance Minister, to gain confidence in the present financial world." He (IKEDA) replied: "When I met YUKI this morning, I said: 'Let us try to help KAYA somehow so there won't be any criticism against him.'" I (HARADA) told IKEDA the story from start to finish. I stated: "KIDO said: 'I would like to ask for their opinions,' speaking of you and the War Minister regarding this problem. Therefore, I think he'll be coming over about this soon. When he does, please give him your full attention." We conversed for about an hour. I returned to Oiso on the 10:00 o'clock train that night.

When I (HARADA) was returning from Okitsu on the 17th, I got on the Fuji from Shizuoka. Consul-General HORINOUCHI of Tientsin happened to be on the same car. He told me various facts about the situation of the officials in North China. He said: "The discipline maintained by Commander-in-Chief TERAUCHI is very good from what I can see. His word is law with his personal staff. There is no sign of subordinates ruling their superiors. The North China Army is advancing toward the front lines with irresistible force. Looking behind at the various battlefields they have passed through, peace and order are being

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maintained. However, the division commanders and much lower ranking troop commanders are very indignant that the Central (Tokyo) Government doesn't commence economic measures much sooner. The Commander-in-Chief, Gen. TERAUCHI, is the go-between (of the division commanders and the Central Government), and is having a difficult time. In order to console the combatants in North China, he has made some very strong statements. Army Commander TERAUCHI desires to give the people of Hopei Province experience in stabilized livelihood with undisturbed peace and order. He believes that this would enhance Japan's prestige and would result in Japan's securing their confidence. If cotton and other materials were bought as soon as possible, resulting in the circulation of money, quite a stabilized atmosphere would be created in the North China region. Hoping somehow to get the purchase of cotton acknowledged quickly, we have solicited instructions from the Central (Tokyo) Government. We have been told: 'The purchase of cotton is a good idea. However, the Finance Ministry and the Planning Bureau are debating at what prices they should permit the purchase.' It is very regrettable that we are being made to wait so long. Even a rough-and-ready rule would be all right. There is a need to stabilize the whole atmosphere as soon as possible. The Army men in China should be able to think: 'The Government is taking good care of the places where we fought the battles.' The Army Commander (TERAUCHI) who is the go-between should be able to say: 'Didn't I get this much done in cooperation with the Central Government?' I (HORINOUCHI) came to negotiate with the Central Government about such matters."

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He (HORINOUCI) further stated: "The desires of the Army Commander (TARAUCHI) are, first of all, to begin economic projects and to build the kind of atmosphere described before. The people should be allowed self-government. At the atmosphere settles down, we can bring in someone who has quite a bit of power among the important people of Nanking. Differing in every extent with procedures in Manchukuo, the Chinese themselves will handle the administration. We would like to have them handle the matter without putting in some Japanese or without Japan trying to dictate the administration directly. It is our goal to create an atmosphere in which Japan, Manchukuo and North China can collaborate in a common defense against Communism. The matter of whom to bring in (as the leader of the new government) is a question of time. Our idea is that it is taboo at the present time to bring in tuchuns (Chinese war lords) like SUNG Che-yuan and WU Pei-fu, to carry out a militaristic administration in North China." I (HARADA) said to Consul-General HORINOUCI: "When you return, consult the leaders of the government offices in question as soon as possible. It would probably be best to try to speed up matters. I shall bring up the matter also when I have the opportunity." Then we parted.

On the morning of the 18th, I (HARADA) phoned the Navy Minister and told him about my meeting with War Minister SUGIYAMA the night before. I also called KIDO to tell him about the situation.

On the 19th, I (HARADA) visited the Governor of the Bank of Japan in the morning. We talked about various matters. I inquired just what the financial world was thinking about the North China problem. I told Governor

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YUKI: "KIDO certainly has given quite a bit of assistance to KONOYE since he joined the Cabinet. KONOYE said: 'I cannot rely on the Finance Minister. He is very competent as far as office work is concerned. However, when it comes to councils in the Imperial presence, he is very inferior compared to the War and Navy Ministers. The fact that there is a feeling that he might be oppressed gives me much anxiety.' Furthermore, now that the operations (in China) have entered the second stage, KONOYE felt like resigning. KIDO barely stopped him. I am doing all that I can, but I would like to have you give it some thought, too." I requested: "I would like to have you meet KIDO as soon as possible and talk to him."

In the afternoon, I (HARADA) had a phone call from KONOYE's secretary with the message: "I (KONOYE) am going to SHIMAZU, Tadahide's house tonight at 7:00 o'clock with my wife. I shall see you there." I (HARADA) phoned KIDO and said: "I am to meet KONOYE tonight. If you want me to see you before I meet KONOYE, I can stop by on my way." KIDO replied: "YUKI (Governor of the Bank of Japan) is here at this moment. I think it'll be all right if it's an hour later. Will you stop by around 5:30?"

I (HARADA) stopped at KIDO's place around 5:30. He said: "YUKI and KONOYE met this morning. At that time, KONOYE was very concerned about the problem of KAYA (Finance Minister). He (YUKI) said: 'It may be very good if you change him with IKEDA, Seihin. However, will you (Premier) first talk it over with IKEDA?' For his (Premier's) information, he (YUKI) also said: 'Another way of thinking is to leave KAYA where he is. You could create an "Advisory Committee" composed of the President

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of the Yokohama Specie; the former President of the Yokohama Specie, KODAMA Kenji; KAGAMI Kenkichi; myself, of the Bank of Japan; IKEDA Seihin, and others. This committee could back KAYA.' YUKI went home after he said: 'Let us have another consultation.'

KIDO said: "The fact is that I met KONOYE at leisure yesterday noon. I said to KONOYE: 'For you to resign now is to die a useless death. When you consider the matter nationally and not individually, it becomes very alarming. The public expects more from you to a certain extent over your actual value. If you should move now, the people will be carried away by uneasiness, wondering what had happened. It will not only lessen the stability of the financial world, but of the whole nation. They will say: 'Even though the Army in China is advancing with irresistible force as it is at present, just what is the Central Government doing?' A very unfavorable atmosphere will be created. This is the period for caution. If it is unavoidable, it might be all right to replace KAYA with IKEDA, but think that over.'

"KONOYE said: 'How about another try by appointing all the State Councillors as Cabinet Ministers? In other words, how about another attempt by doing that if I should receive the Imperial command (to form another Cabinet) again?' I (KIDO) replied: 'It is no good if the Imperial command is anticipated by intrigue. If that time really came, it might be all right. In that case, I shall become the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet.' I think it is inevitable but to stop him at this point. Please explain this situation fully to Prince SAIONJI."

KIDO had relayed in detail to KONOYE what Prince

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SAIONJI I had told me at Okitsu. He (KIDO) said: "The message amounted only to: 'Carry on persistently with vigour.' However, it seemed to have given KONOYE quite a bit of determination."

After this, I (HARADA) attended the meeting of the Kyoto University at the Kinsui for a short while. I immediately went on to the SHIMAZU home and saw KONOYE. I might be bad if I said too much. I just repeated what I had asked KIDO to transmit: 'Prince SAIONJI said: 'Do your best with vigour.'"

KONOYE said: "It is my hope that my relationship with the Foreign Minister becomes a bit more intimate. It is also a necessity." He was very dissatisfied with HIROTA and the present leaders of the Foreign Ministry. I (HARADA) said: "I shall see HIROTA tomorrow. Whether there is any business to be discussed or not, you and the Foreign Minister or the Vice-Minister when it's inconvenient or the Foreign Minister, should dine together once a week. At that time, you could discuss what has happened in foreign relations or the various details of foreign policies which do not appear on the surface." KONOYE said: "Will you by all means arrange that?" I (HARADA) also said: "When Minister TANI returns, let us make him a consultant and carry out various projects." As we were parting, KONOYE said: "Even if the Diet adjourns, I guess I can't resign for a while."

On the 19th, I (HARADA) stayed over at Kyoto. On the morning of the 20th, AOKI Kazuo (Vice-Chief of the Planning Bureau) came over. As we ate, he told me about the incident of some time ago when the President of the Planning Bureau let out the news about giving ¥5,000 for

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each war dead, etc. He said that top secret matters were leaking out and he also mentioned the efficiency of the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. After that, he went home.

Around 9:30, KODAMA, the former President of the Yokohama Specie Bank, and KASHIWAGI came over. They said: "The means of carrying out Japanese reconstruction of North China was resolved by the Japan-China Business and Industrial Association. In view of the discontent of the people toward the burdensome obligations resulting from the use of national funds and the price they have paid, and the recompense for the sacrifice of blood relations, reconstruction must be carried out quite thoroughly or the grievance later will be bitter. In order to do this, a military government should be set up not only in North China, but in all of China. Wouldn't it be better to suppress them that way until everything settled down in order to prevent various movements against internal administration problems after the war." They tried to leave something like a written memorial. Therefore, I (HARADA) asked AOKI to come over immediately. I had AOKI meet the two men directly and listen to their opinions.

In the afternoon, I (HARADA) visited HORINOUCI, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. I talked to him about the relationship between KONOYE and the leaders of the Foreign Ministry. Since the Minister was not there, I asked the Vice-Minister to explain matters fully to him. Then I left.

I (HARADA) returned to Oiso. On the 21st, I had lunch with YUKI, the Governor of the Bank of Japan, at YAMASHITA's villa at Atami. As we ate, we talked about

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various matters. Governor YUKI still seemed dissatisfied with the Foreign Minister. He said: "A group in the Navy is venturing whether Prince TOKUGAWA Iesato, should not be made Foreign Minister." I (HARADA) replied: "That is a big mistake. He doesn't have that much character. I think it would be best if you asked KIDO or KONOYE concerning the situation. A man's character is hard to tell until you've studied him quite some time. Please be careful of anything too hasty."

In the evening, I (HARADA) returned to Oiso. I had a phone call from KONOYE late at night. He said: "I met IKEDA Seihin, some time ago, and asked him to take over as Finance Minister. He replied: 'I'll think it over.' Will you see him and urge him from behind the scenes?"

On the morning of the 22nd, I (HARADA) visited IKEDA Seihin, at his villa at Oiso. I urged him strongly: "The times are such and there is no one suitable besides you. If matters become agitated because of this, it would be very distressing. How about accepting KONOYE's request?" IKEDA had also been urged often by HIRAIZUMI and ARIGA as messengers from KONOYE. He (IKEDA) said: "KONOYE himself has discussed various points. However, I just do not have the confidence. It would really be distressing if I were to accept something that I didn't have the confidence to carry out. I am very sorry. There is no reason why KAYA couldn't carry on." He declined vigorously. He said: "I'll think it over some more." Then he stated: "I usually don't consult too much with others about my movements. However, I think I shall talk this over with UGAKI."

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Then I (HARADA) went to Tokyo. In the afternoon, I met President NAGAYO and Dr. ONOZUKA in the President's office at the Imperial University. We discussed politics, rightist movements and the various thought problems of the Education Ministry. I returned to Oiso in the evening.

I (HARADA) returned to Tokyo in the morning of the 21st. At 11:30, I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. We discussed various recent happenings. He told me there were various particulars concerning whether Prince CHICHIBU would or would not attend the first anniversary celebration of the establishment of the anti-Comintern pact of Japan, Germany and Italy. He said: "It was decided that Prince CHICHIBU would not attend the outdoor celebration of the anti-Comintern pact, and also the dinner party. He is going to attend only the dinner party at the German Embassy. The reason was that it wasn't good for a member of the Imperial family to be present at a meeting of a popular movement, the leaders of which are unknown. Young men of General Staff Headquarters talked to Prince KAN-IN and asked for his reply. He promptly consented.

"Prince FUSHIMI, the Chief of Naval Operations, declined saying: 'It has some political significance, and I will not attend such a meeting.' Prince CHICHIBU said: 'The acceptance of Prince KAN-IN was the proper action. It doesn't have any particularly serious political significance.' The young men of General Staff Headquarters said: 'Prince CHICHIBU made quite a contribution toward the anti-Comintern pact as a General Staff Headquarters member. He should attend (the celebrations).' However,

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it was decided in the end that he would not go. He will attend only the dinner party at the German Embassy."

He (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) further stated: "It is, of course, very alarming for Prince KONOYE to talk of resigning at the present. Such an act would certainly be distressing. I heard about it from KIDO some time ago." I (HARADA) said: "In general, the matter has subsided to an extent of relief. I think you can feel at rest."

After I (HARADA) left the Palace, I went to the Foreign Ministry to meet the Foreign Minister. Some time ago, I had relayed to the Foreign Minister through the Vice-Minister the request from KONOYE. I said: "If you and KONOYE get together once a week to dine and talk together, it will be one type of defense against those who try to alienate the Foreign Minister and the Premier. It will also be the cause of deepening the friendship between the Premier and the Foreign Minister. It would also be a convenient thing in the sense of mutually administering state affairs. I would like to make a special request of you." He (Foreign Minister) said: "Generally speaking, I have been explaining matters fully to him, but...."

I (HARADA) replied: "Premier KONOYE is a little different from ordinary Premiers. He has his own insight concerning foreign relations. He also possesses a kind of singularity and is not satisfied with the ordinary. That is, he is not satisfied with just a report of conclusions. It is KONOYE's desire to discuss and inquire about the ins and outs and detailed particulars of matters. I know you must be busy but on this occasion I would like you to do as the Premier says. In instances when you are very busy,

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you could send the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs in your stead." Generally speaking, HIROTA, the Foreign Minister, acknowledged the request.

The Foreign Minister said: "The fishing industry problem between Japan and Soviet Russia is generally improving." He also stated: "The American Ambassador came over to say that the attitude of the United States at the Nine Power Conference is that they will not take any cooperative action with Japan in the future." When I (HARADA) left the Foreign Minister's office, Ambassador GREW of United States had just come. I spoke with GREW, and GREW seemed very lighthearted that day.

Late at night on the 24th, I (HARADA) went to Yugawara. On the morning of the 25th, I went to Okitsu. I spoke (to SAIONJI) of the circumstances since the last time. I reported that Premier KONOYE's feeling had steadied. Prince SAIONJI seemed to be relieved. Prince SAIONJI stated: "I want to resign summarily as Advisor to Emperor MEIJI's Biography Compilation Board and as Financial Advisor to the Imperial Household Ministry." I was to transmit this to the Imperial Household Minister. The reason for this was: "I (SAIONJI) am old and I do not have the stamina. It isn't right to be an advisor without taking the responsibility."

On the 25th, I (HARADA) returned to Oiso. On the morning of the 26th, I went to Tokyo. At 1:30 in the afternoon, I met HATTA, the former Vice-President of the South Manchurian Railways. Concerning the recent expulsion agitation against MATSUOKA, the President of the South Manchurian Railways, HATTA said: "I think I would like to tell Premier KONOYE: 'It isn't good to transfer

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MATSUKA now without reason. It is better to watch the transition of the situation a little while longer and then decide on the movement." He also stated: "I would like to talk to the Premier about conditions in North China." In conclusion, he said: "I shall meet the Premier after he returns from Ise and talk with him."

I (HARADA) met the Imperial Household Minister around 3:30 at his official residence. We talked about recent conditions. I told him about the anti-British movement and the fact that it seemed as if this movement was being used as a means to expel the Genro (SAIONJI) and court officials close to the Emperor (as they were considered pro-British). Finally, I said: "Prince SAIONJI said: 'I would like to resign as Advisor to Emperor MEIJI's Biography Compilation Board and as Financial Advisor to the Imperial Household Ministry.'" The Imperial Household Minister's desire in response to this was: "I can understand his desire to resign as Financial Advisor. However, as Advisor to Emperor MEIJI's Biography Compilation Board, he need not necessarily read the biography; he need only talk to us when we have some inquiries to make. I would like you to ask him somehow to stay on just this post."

That night I (HARADA) met KIDO and told him this story. KIDO said: "It would be a simple matter to find someone else as Financial Advisor to the Imperial Household Ministry. However, there is no special responsibility involved in his post as Advisor to Emperor MEIJI's Biography Compilation Board, and I wish he'd think it over once more."

KIDO said: "Recently I had dinner with SUGIYAMA,

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the War Minister, and talked with him at leisure on various matters. I explained to him the fact that he should become closer to the Premier and that he should cooperate with the Premier. SUGIYAMA stated: 'I didn't know that I had depressed the Premier's feelings that much. That is, I didn't know I had that much influence. However, from now on, I shall be careful.'"

That afternoon, I (HARADA) met Secretary USHIBA. He said: "The relationship between the Premier and the War Minister has recently improved."

I (HARADA) talked to ARITA on the phone. ARITA said: "On the 27th, I am going to Kyoto for an overnight stay. YONAI, the Navy Minister, said: 'Let's get together (YONAI, ARITA and HARADA),' when I return from Kyoto. Will you meet us?" He (ARITA) further stated: "I met HORINOUCHI, the Vice-Minister. I heard from him what you had said about the Premier and the Foreign Minister getting together once a week. The Foreign Minister spoke to the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs as if to say: 'Do I have to go that far?'"

Regarding whether or not IKEDA Saihin would accept the position of Finance Minister, the Premier had again asked me to urge him to accept it. On the morning of the 26th, I was thinking of going to IKEDA's place to inquire into the situation and to urge him. Just then, IKEDA phoned and said: "I would like to meet you this morning at 9:30." I said: "I'll go over to your place." However, he came over, and we conversed about various matters for about two hours. He said: "I definitely cannot accept the post." He explained the situation. He stated: "I am thinking of declining by saying to Premier

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KONOYE: 'It would be unfavorable to change the Finance Minister at present, speaking from our international standpoint. Also, I cannot, by nature, accept a post for which I do not have confidence. No matter how I look at it, I do not have the confidence under the present circumstances. I actually cannot accept the post when I consider the problem of balance at foreign trade centered around exchange rates. Even if I explain all this, I do not think it will click in the minds of the Premier or KIDO, the Education Minister. I think that, in the not too distant future, fate will place Japan in a difficult position financially and economically due to the problem of the balance of foreign trade. It may be that later on, an instance will arise in which I will have to serve in some capacity according to my ability. Under the present circumstances, I still do not have any confidence to accept.' No matter what was said, IKEDA seemed determined to decline.

Concerning the problem of the balance of foreign trade, I (HARADA) recalled to mind what FUKUI, the Governor of the Bank of Japan, had said. When FUKUI became Governor of the Bank of Japan, he was very astonished and privately told me a great deal about his points of anxiety. He said: "The more I think about it, the more impossible it becomes for me to remain in this position. However, I think it would be harmful for me to resign right now. I cannot tell anyone else, but I am really worried."

I (HARADA) said to IKEDA: "Even if you are only going to decline, I would like to ask you to do it in such a manner that it will not agitate the Premier's present state of mind. I hope that you who are going to back

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KAYA to the limit and create a 'brain trust' in consultation with YUKI and others. Also, that you will see that they do not err. We do not think that KAYA himself is a person who will err. However, the public regards him lightly. At the same time, there are those among his Cabinet colleagues who consider him lightly also. I ask that you back him so that he will have as much weight as possible with them." I (HARADA) further stated: "Governor YUKI has told Premier KONOZE from before that it was a very simple matter to change KAYA and you. In spite of this, the matter was not very simple. You must protect YUKI, the Governor of the Bank of Japan, so that the Premier will not be alienated against him because of what he had said. I hope that you and the Governor of the Bank of Japan will be inseparable as strong supporters of the Premier concerning finance and economy. Beginning with BABA, the Home Minister himself, there are many who surround him and who libel KAYA, the Finance Minister, every chance they can get. There are many who are trying to slander the leaders of the Finance Ministry. Many persons are even inclined to alter the Premier's state of mind, and the fact is, we are very worried." In conclusion, I (HARADA) requested: "Please confer with KIDO and set up liaison with YUKI. The Premier's feelings have finally subsided, and I ask earnestly that you take a discreet attitude."

I (HARADA) immediately phoned KIDO and YUKI. I explained fully that IKEDA had come to decline and what I had requested of IKEDA. KIDO said: "I guess it can't be helped." KIDO and YUKI were to meet the next day, the 29th, at 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon.

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On the 29th, I (HARADA) came out to Tokyo. I went to the Imperial Household Ministry and talked again to the Imperial Household Minister about what I had told him the other day about Prince SAIONJI wanting to resign as Financial Advisor to the Imperial Household Ministry and as Advisor to Emperor MEIJI's Biography Compilation Board. The Imperial Household Minister agreed to his resignation as Financial Advisor. The Vice-Minister said: "That is very distressing." In the end, however, he, too, consented. He said: "I ask that he reconsider resigning as Advisor to Emperor MEIJI's Biography Compilation Board."

I (HARADA) returned late at night to Oiso. The Premier had just returned that night (from his trip), and I talked to him by phone. He seemed very cheerful and said: "I met quite a few men of the financial world in Osaka through the good offices of OGURA. It turned out very good." He was happy.

In the evening of that day before I returned to Oiso, I (HARADA) had met the Navy Minister and the Vice-Minister in Tokyo. The Navy Minister said: "Recently, the War Minister, the Foreign Minister and I got together for dinner and talked over various matters. The meetings have been very good. Various remarks are made concerning the Foreign Minister, such as 'he's incompetent' or 'he lacks any policy'. I do not think that is true. If you approach him, he talks freely. I don't suppose he could very well talk about matters which are top secret at a Cabinet meeting where there are so many people. NIGAI, the Minister of Communications, often asks questions on the spur of the moment. Even if he says:

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'Answer this,' I think it is impossible for the Foreign Minister to reply. When you talk to him at leisure, he has a great deal of statesmanship and he is a reliable person. I think it would be well for Premier KONOYE to meet him with these points in mind."

I (HARADA) said: "In order to develop friendly relations with the Foreign Minister and to check the rise of alienating slander against the Foreign Minister, I am wondering whether the Premier couldn't join the three of you when you meet and talk with you. I wonder if you couldn't arrange that?" The Navy Minister replied: "If the Premier will attend, I shall be glad to arrange it." When I talked to the Premier on the phone, I told him about this. The Premier said: "I shall attend."

When I (HARADA) was invited out by MORIOKA, the Governor-General of Formosa, I met OTANI Sonyu, former Home Minister KAWARADA and others. I explained to them thoroughly: "Those on the outside should exert themselves so that the relationship between the Cabinet Ministers will be as harmonious as possible. I ask that we be extra cautious not to get involved in an alienating slander." KAWARADA and OTANI were very much in accord with this.

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Chapter 257
(10 December 1937)

How Shall the Emperor Relax

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the 1st, I (HARADA) met Prince KONOYE. He was quite calm. The Premier said: "On the 30th, IKEDA, Seihin, declined by giving the following two points: 'It was a special offer, but I cannot take over the post as Finance Minister. One reason is that it would be unfavorable for the Finance Minister to change now in view of our foreign relations. Another reason is that I cannot accept a position which I do not have the assurance to carry out with responsibility. My nature will not permit that.'" He (KONOYE) added: "In that case, I guess it is inevitable but to proceed by having a so-called 'brain trust' formed to support KAYA."

I (HARADA) said: "You have probably heard this from IKEDA, but he told me: 'The present Finance Ministry was established many decades ago when finance, economics and the circulation of money was small. At present, the nation's finance, economics and circulation of money, in general, has expanded a great deal. It is a fact that all this is too much for the same machinery as that of many decades ago to handle. I think that we will have to create something new like a Ministry of Economic Affairs.' I think this is a very good problem for the KONOYE Cabinet to tackle. How about putting up a plan to create a Ministry of Economic Affairs?"

He (KONOYE) also said: "ARAKI, who was in a supervisory capacity of the Bank of Japan in New York came to my place this morning. He told me various facts. He said: 'SAITO is the most suitable Ambassador for America. Lately, he has gotten along well with the Department of State (of U.S.). I met often with CASTLE and he places great confidence in SAITO. Considering those points and from the Japanese

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standpoint, it isn't good to transfer SAITO right now.' The man himself (SAITO) says: 'I don't want to return to Japan right now.' He (ARAKI) also said: 'WAKASUGI, the Consul-General at New York, is also very popular. He is a most suitable consul-general.'

I (HARADA) met the Foreign Minister at the Foreign Ministry. I told him what ARAKI had told KONOYE, that is, about Ambassador SAITO and WAKASUGI. HIROTA, the Foreign Minister, said: "We were thinking of calling back WAKASUGI to become the Chief of the Information Bureau. If he's so good, we'll leave him there. Perhaps we'll make KATO, Sotomatsu, the Chief of the Information Bureau." He (HIROTA) didn't say anything special concerning the progress of foreign relations. However, he said: "At any rate, I shall meet Prince KONOYE."

On the 3rd, I (HARADA) met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He said: "This is what I heard from court officials close to the Emperor. When the Emperor hears good news he suddenly feels at ease somehow and his fatigue comes out. I think it would be distressing if he cannot divert his mind somehow. Instead of going to his laboratory for micro-organisms in which he is interested, he calls Instructor HATTORI to the Imperial chamber. If he goes to his laboratory, there are guards there because it is inside the Palace. They report to the Aide-de-Camp's office: 'He went there so many times.' There are some insolent Army aide-de-camps who criticise by saying: 'It is extremely outrageous (for the Emperor) to be studying biology in this emergency.' It is extremely unpleasant that he feels constrained by this and doesn't go there (laboratory) at all. If we urge him to go, he would be unable, more than ever, to go on with an easy mind (since he'd be placed between two factions). The matter would be aggravated more,

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and there would be various criticisms. It would be bad if we trouble the Emperor. HIPOHATA, the Vice Chamberlain, said: 'It would be better if he didn't become too engrossed in the study of such things as natural science.' Or: 'Instead of leaning toward natural science, why not call a teacher of the Analects of Confucius or Chinese composition and listen to that?' I am opposed to such a thing."

Some time later, I (HARADA) met the Navy Minister at the Minister's official residence. I told the Navy Minister: "I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal the other day, but the situation is like this. It is distressing that there are so many disloyal men. If the Genro (SAIONJI) or court officials close to the Emperor bring up the matter clumsily, it might complicate matters. There must first be a conference with the War Minister. The War Minister should take the responsibility and speak to the Emperor. At the same time, he should explain the matter fully to the Aide-de-Camp's Office. If the Emperor should keep up his duties in these important times in the present manner, he will surely suffer ill effects later on. That would be inexcusable. Ordinary officials and even Ministers take it easy on Saturdays and Sundays. They relax and revive their spirits and then take up their everyday work. It is very distressing if, in comparison, the Emperor who supervises government affairs widely and intensely, has no time for rest or cannot divert his mind. If he is forced to continue like that and becomes so fatigued in the end that there is no recovery, it would be unpardonable. Won't you study the matter and make it possible somehow so that he (Emperor) can go freely to his biological laboratory and can rest whenever he feels like it. Please allow him a life that has some relaxation." The Navy Minister was completely in

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accord with us. He said: "After considering the matter, I shall talk to the War Minister right away." The Navy Minister called HIRATA, the Aide-de-Camp, and asked him various questions. After that, he talked to the War Minister. The War Minister also became very worried and said: "I shall try to do something."

On the 3rd, I (HARADA) departed and went to Okitsu. I was there on the 3rd, 4th and 5th. In the morning of the 5th, I talked to the Foreign Minister and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs by phone. The Foreign Minister stated: "When the German Ambassador to China met CHIANG Kai Shek, CHIANG is said to have stated: 'Since, at present, the Brussels Conference has already been dissolved, we could from the standpoint of principle, receive Japan's negotiations, but...'. The German Military Attache in Tokyo told me that a Chinese Government official in Hankow told this to the German Consul-General in Hankow."

The Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs stated: "The talk concerning Shanghai was in confusion, but has been brought to a close. The Japanese Government was able to settle the incident in which a bomb was dropped on a ship flying the American flag by expressing her regrets."

At 10 a.m., I (HARADA) went to Prince SAIONJI's place and talked about various matters. I told him about the Emperor's fatigue and the fact that the matter was now being discussed with the War Minister. Prince SAIONJI said: "Instead of KONOYE commenting on it, the War Minister should tell his subordinates not to say such things (criticise the Emperor). In any event, the War Minister must assume the responsibility and handle the matter." He further stated: "Regarding the matter of meeting the Imperial Household Minister and ISHIKAWA the Chief of the Study Hall of His Highness, the Crown Prince, I shall think it over."

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On the 6th, I (HARADA) returned to Oiso. On the 7th, I went out to Tokyo. That evening around 4 O'clock, I visited SHIRATORI at his home in Aoyama. Since I had previously discussed the matter with HIPOKA, the Foreign Minister, and KONOYE, I said: "How about serving in some suitable post? If you keep on this way, and end up like Ambassador HONDA, Kumataro, you will be worthless." He replied: "Please refrain from comparing me with HONDA."

Then he said: "It doesn't seem as if the KONOYE Cabinet has much liaison with the right wing, but...." I (HARADA) said: "We are distressed because there is too little liaison. What do you mean by your statement?" SHIRATORI replied: "Some time ago, I met AMANO, the leader of the Shimpeitai, together with YASUI, the former Education Minister, at a certain place. AMANO is an extremely sincere man and said: 'The manifestation of the national constitution of Japan must be planned for (implying by the rightists in general). It (national constitution) doesn't appear at all in the administration.' He is an ardent man and thinks like a god." SHIRATORI praised AMANO.

I (HARADA) said: "I think that the Shimpeitai is composed of fakes." He replied: "There are some who are, but AMANO is very reliable." He added: "YASUI has relayed this story to KONOYE." He spoke on such points as the amendment of the Constitution and the reformation of the court system. The reason I thought 'Aha', was that I knew from the newspapers that YASUI, the former Education Minister, had visited Premier KONOYE two or three days ago. I inquired about it later, and I felt that the request: "Please petition the Emperor to promulgate an Imperial Edict of amnesty," appeared to be a movement carried on excessively by AMANO and his group.

I (HARADA) was at SHIRATORI's place until around 5:30.

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I went to the villa of Kinsui at 6 o'clock past. State Councillors GO and ABO, IWAKURA and Education Minister KIDO and I talked about various matters till past 10 o'clock and then parted.

The next morning, SAKATANI, who had just come from Manchukuo, MUNAKATA of the Bank of Japan and I had lunch together. We heard about the various conditions in Manchukuo (from SAKATANI). MUNAKATA told us about the very dangerous situation of the balance of foreign trade and how much the matter has been glossed over until now. He said: "The true nature of the matter must be reported to the military."

Around 10:30, GOTO, Fumio, the former Home Minister, came visiting. He said: "Please appoint KARASAWA, the former Chief of the Police Bureau, to some position. He is most suitable for the post to be created soon, that of Minister of the Social Health Ministry."

SAKATANI said: "Regarding the problem of the credit situation in North China, the Central Bank (Bank of Japan) should be the central figure. Chinese themselves should be utilized as President and Vice President. We Japanese will guide them from the side, but it isn't good to take over the main posts. It'll be a failure unless entirely different methods from those in Manchukuo are used." He added: "As regional currencies go, the currency of Korea will probably be affected. At any rate, there is no other way but to rely on the 'initiative' of China as much as possible."

At 11:30, I (HADA) went to the official residence of the Premier. I met the Premier and I told him about my conversation with SAKATANI, et al. I asked KONOYE: "Four or five days ago, you went to the Palace for an Imperial audience and was with him for quite a long time. Did anything happen?" He

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again started the talk: "There was nothing in particular. However, I cannot go through these times with my present Cabinet colleagues. I am thinking of changing the entire Cabinet with State Councillors." He (KONOYE) said: "I told this to the Emperor during an idle conversation. The Emperor inquired: 'Of what Ministry are you going to make UGAKI the Minister?'" I (HARADA) did not forcibly inquire what reply he gave. I thought it's started again; this is distressing. I told the Premier: "If you are going to carry it through, consider the time very carefully. It will also be unfavorable if you do not give a lot of consideration to your methods."

The Premier said: "I am distressed with HIROTA. On the 2nd of November, HIROTA met the German Ambassador. He submitted a plan which was based on the assumption of conditions when the Supreme Military Command Office would decide not to advance farther than the Paoting front. The German Ambassador transmitted this to CHIANG Kai Shek, on November 6, through the German Ambassador to China. CHIANG Kai Shek, rejected the plan at that time. Recently, Nanking has reached the verge of danger. Now CHIANG Kai Shek, is distressed and accepts the plan. The German Ambassador to China reported it to DIRKSEN, the German Ambassador to Tokyo. We found out all about it because the Army stole that telegram. Stipulations which held when we stopped at the Paoting line aren't acceptable now. The Foreign Minister was prepared for that and told the other side: "If the war situation changes, the stipulations of this talk will also change according to those conditions. Please bear that in mind." However, the young men of the Army disregarded such a qualified statement. They said: 'HIROTA was wrong in telling them our intention too soon.' People like KAGESA of the General Staff Headquarters said: 'We'll kill

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HIROTA, and get HIROTA and tie him up.' They've been clamorous since last night, and I am in a predicament."

On the 8th, the War Minister had come and told me, (HARADA): "I am going to dine with the Premier KONOYE and talk over this story." The Premier said; regarding this: "I talked to the War Minister about this. The War Minister said: "If this news becomes known to the middle class people, it'll be annoying. We'll talk to the Chief of the Second Bureau and keep it confidential.' However, it had already become known by them to KAGESA and the young men of General Staff Headquarters of the War Ministry, and they were very indignant."

I (HARADA) returned home and then at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I went to the official residence of the Navy Minister. I told my story to the Minister and the Vice-Minister of the Navy. YAMAMOTO, the Vice-Minister said: "The Army is in the wrong. At one time, the Army and Navy thought strongly: 'The war must be brought to an end as soon as possible.' From that time, General Staff Headquarters carried out various things through German Major Gen. OTT, who was the military attache in Tokyo. They also pressed negotiations with the Foreign Ministry. The Foreign Minister was continuing the talk initiated at that time and was carrying it out together with the Army and General Staff Headquarters. As I have told you before, the Ministers of War, Navy and Foreign Affairs have been having dinner together once a week and discussing foreign relations and other topics. Since the three Ministers understand the situation, there is no reason for trouble to arise if the Army had control of discipline. As the war situation advances, the operations of the Army change rapidly. To defend the Foreign Minister further, why wasn't the Foreign Ministry or the Foreign Minister, perhaps through the Premier, informed of

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the changes in the plans and the transitions? Since close liaison wasn't taken with the authorities of the Foreign Ministry, such a 'hitch' arose. You cannot altogether condemn the Foreign Minister alone." Both YAMAMOTO, the Vice-Minister and YONAI, the Navy Minister, were of the same opinion.

It is said, HIROTA, the Foreign Minister, said previously to the other side, concerning this problem: 'We'll submit new stipulations.' Therefore, it's perfectly all right to present even stronger stipulations. As has been said before, they (China) were told: 'The stipulations are such under these conditions. When the conditions change, the stipulations will change also.' Therefore, isn't it all right to present new stipulations?" However, those who attack and ostracize HIROTA are using this as a good chance and the situation was that of confusion.

I (HARADA) had invited MATSUDAIRA, the Grand Master of Ceremonies, and those who had returned from foreign countries to my home that night, so I went home. Around 11 o'clock, after everyone had gone home, newspaper reporters kept calling me. They asked me questions touching on this problem, but I pretended I knew nothing.

On the morning of the 9th, I (HARADA) met the Imperial Household Minister. We were discussing various matters when the Imperial Household Minister said: "I think that we shall use MUSEAKOJI as KIDO's successor as President of the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry." KIDO and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal both seemed in favor of it. He said: "I am not insisting that MUSEAKOJI is the best. However, someone who has had a great deal of personal experience with members of the Imperial family, that is, a member of the peerage is a good choice." MATSUDAIRA explained: "I think there are various

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unfavorable matters concerning his methods in connection with the Japan-German-Italian Pact. However, I think he will be good in regard to the Imperial family."

On my way home, I (HARADA) went to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's office around 10 o'clock. I talked to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and also met HIROHATA, the Vice Grand Chamberlain. I inquired about the recent situation. He rejoiced about the fact that: "Since the Crown Prince has been separated from the Emperor and Empress, he indulges in child's play. His health is better and his feelings have become very gay. If he's at the Palace, there are only adults and it's somehow not good for the child. He has changed a great deal." I (HARADA) talked about the fact that the Emperor should divert his mind somewhat when he is so busy and also about his laboratory. Then I left.

After I (HARADA) returned, I talked to the Navy Minister by phone. The Navy Minister said: "The War Minister said: 'I thought over the various angles about the Emperor going to the laboratory and methods of diverting his mind when he is busy. Some time ago, I asked the men of the Aide-de-Camp's office in the presence of the Chief Aide-de-Camp and the Grand Chamberlain: "Does the Emperor have any amusements lately? It is distressing if there aren't good opportunities for him to divert his mind when he is busy. What about that?" They made various comments. I told the Chief Aide-de-Camp: "Why doesn't he go from time to time to study biology in which he is so interested? We sometimes take walks on Saturdays and Sundays. Even Premier KONOYE goes to play golf. Therefore, the Emperor should be able to rest freely whenever he likes."' The War Minister stated: 'Some time when I have an audience with the Emperor, I shall also talk to him about it.' Since it's the Army Aide-de-Camps who've been making the fuss, it's

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fortunate that the War Minister spoke up on the matter."

The other day when I met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and when I met the Imperial Household Minister, they were both displeased with HIROHATA, the Vice Grand Chamberlain. The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal stated: "HIROHATA, the Vice Grand Chamberlain, worries too much about public sentiment. The Railways Minister brought a moving picture about the fish and plant life at the bottom of the sea. It was a very new thing and he (Railways Minister) said: 'I should like to present it to the Emperor for his amusement.' The Emperor had previously asked the Imperial Household Minister often: 'I hear that a moving picture is to be taken of the ocean bed. I wonder if it's been done.' The Imperial Household Minister wanted to show the picture to the Emperor by all means. He talked to HIROHATA who turned it down flatly in anger: 'If anything like that comes, send it back.' He won't accept any presentations to the Emperor. There have been other things which I (Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) felt were necessary for the Emperor's amusement even in these times. I would consult with HIROHATA about something suitable, but he would reject it bluntly saying: 'Such things aren't necessary right now.'"

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal stated fearfully:

"There are instances in which the people bring something which they wish with deep sincerity to present to the Emperor. Won't it harm the Emperor's moral influence to turn down all these offers?" The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal added: "Any presentation for the purpose of advertisement by saying it was viewed by the Emperor or was presented to him would be distressing. However, I wonder about turning down, in the same manner, articles which were made with a great deal of effort from a true feeling of wanting to make a presentation to the

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Emperor. Besides the Imperial Household Minister and I urge only those things which have been duly considered. It is unpleasant that the Vice Grand Chamberlain turns down everything. I thought it would be unfavorable to argue about it openly and have been holding back." The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal was indignant about the foreign policy matter saying: "The attitude of the Army regarding the present problem is very bad."

Immediately after I (HARADA) returned, I had lunch with KIDO and we discussed various topics. KIDO sympathized with KONOYE saying: "Recently Premier KONOYE has begun to think of interchanging the Cabinet with State Councillors. The reason naturally lies in the particulars between him and the Army about foreign relations. BABA, the Home Minister, recently injured his health and is quite weak. At any rate, BABA is a very handy man. It is a little distressing to have BABA leave just when the Diet is going to open. This also has begun to work on Premier KONOYE's mind. Therefore, his thoughts are justifiable."

After lunch, MATSUDAIRA, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and AOKI, the Vice-Chief of the Planning Bureau, came over. We discussed various matters. KIDO said: "AYUKAWA relayed this news through ITO, Bunkichi:

"MATSUOKA is coming to Tokyo soon and is going to bring up a proposition about North China. It is unfavorable for the South Manchurian Railways to go into North China. If the Premier should listen to MATSUOKA's opinion outright (without someone talking to him (KONOYE) first), I think it'll become a preconception, and we must take great care against that."

Since AOKI, the Vice-Chief of the Planning Bureau, came over, KIDO talked to AOKI and warned him: "I think it would

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be well to go to Premier KONOYE's place first and tell him various facts." He also said: "It would be well to warn the principal men among the State Councillors." KIDO said: "I warned ITO, Bunkichi: 'Whenever MATSUOKA says anything, SUETSUGU always defends him or sympathizes with him. When SUETSUGU agrees with him (MATSUOKA), we must ask Admiral ABO to criticize that. Please talk to Admiral ABO about that.'"

Minister TANI, who was returning from Vienna, arrived on the 9th on the Fuji (train). I made a promise by phone to meet him on the morning of the 11th. At the same time, SAWADA returned from Manchukuo.

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 258
(18 December 1937)

Suetsugu Put Into Cabinet

Translated by Miss Miwako Yanamoto

On the morning of the 11th, OHARA Naoshi came to my place. He said: "I hear that BABA, the Home Minister, is very ill, and that SHIONO, the Minister of Justice, is aiming for that post. Then, MITSUYUKI, the former Procurator-General, would be the Minister of Justice. Up until now, MITSUYUKI hardly ever went to the place of HIRANUMA, the President of the Privy Council. Recently he has visited HIRANUMA often. Through that connection, he has gradually become friendlier with SHIONO. I do not think it will materialize (their plan to take over posts of Home Minister and Minister of Justice). Still, I think this is a very unfavorable tendency. I think I would like to see KIDO, the Education Minister once very soon."

That afternoon I stopped by at the Kuwana for a short while. AREMI happened to be there and I met him. I asked him: "Are you very much in sympathy with YASUI, the former Education Minister?" He replied: "I think that YASUI is an extremely outrageous person. The reason is that lately, he visits Premier KONOYE often and is carrying on various matters. When he was in the Cabinet, I never exchanged a word with him at the Cabinet meetings. He often comes to Premier KONOYE's place and talks to him as if something uneasy were going to happen sometime. Properly speaking, there is no reason for anything to be happening. I think it is very unpleasant for him to be making unnecessary statements." I (HARADA) said: "If that is your opinion, I am relieved." We parted then.

That day, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board came and said: "I hear that State Councillor AKITA is carrying on movements to become the Home Minister. I think this is

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extremely unpleasant."

I had promised to meet Premier KONOYE at 8:30 on the 12th. I visited the Premier for the first time at his new private residence in Ogikubo. The Chief Secretary of the Cabinet was also there and I discussed various matters with him for a while. He repeatedly said: "BABA, the Home Minister, is very ill."

A little later I (HARADA) discussed various topics with KONOYE. I said: "There are people who are making all sorts of statements about a successor for BABA. AKITA and SHIONO are carrying on movements, but it would be bad to appoint anyone like them." I also told him what TANI and SAWADA came and told me yesterday. I said: "TANI was saying: 'I have time to see him in the evening of the 13th.' Why not listen leisurely to TANI's story?"

KONOYE suddenly said: "I can no longer bear it. When Nanking falls, CHIANG Kai Shek's government will fall. Japan will issue a statement of non-recognition of CHIANG's government. I think that is the time for me to withdraw and I shall resign at that time." I (HARADA) said: "In any event, it is not good for you to resign now." He replied: "If I do not resign now, I will be kept on forever. There is no telling how long this incident is going to continue. I want to resign now." I answered: "You are absolutely wrong. If you should resign now irresponsibly, public confidence of the Japanese people will practically fall to the ground. It will mean that you are betraying the trust of the people. A suitable time for you to resign will surely arise. For you to say such a thing now is not only bad for yourself, but for the nation itself." As we were talking, KIDO came over, KIDO asked: "What's happened?" I replied, "KONOYE has again started

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saying he would like to resign." KIDO said: "Such a thing is entirely out of the question. As HARADA says, there will come a time to resign. You don't have to keep on until the very end. When expectations for the future are set up and everything quiets down, you can resign. You positively cannot do it now." KIDO and KONOYE left for golf, but I went home.

In the evening papers on the 12th, it was made public that Admiral SUETSUGU would assume the post of Home Minister. KONOYE had gone to persuade him on the 11th. When I saw KONOYE this morning, it had already been decided. In spite of that, he didn't say one word to me about SUETSUGU. He probably thought I would oppose it if he told me. Or else, he probably thought I wouldn't agree to it. I gathered that he didn't tell me on purpose.

Early in the morning of the 13th, I (HARADA) visited the Navy Vice - Minister at his official residence at Reinanzaka. I inquired: "SUETSUGU is to become the Home Minister, but what sort of reverberation is there in the Navy?" He replied: "I do not think there will be any particular reverberation as far as the Navy is concerned. Only, I think it very regrettable that the Navy Minister was not consulted or told confidentially before it happened that Admiral SUETSUGU was to be made Home Minister." YAMAMOTO, the Vice-Minister, further stated: "When the Navy Minister visited the Palace on the 11th to have lunch with His Majesty, he met the Premier in the hall of the Palace by chance. The Navy Minister asked the Premier: 'What's up today?' He replied: 'It's nothing important.'"

"After lunch, there was a ~~session~~ conference of the Grand Imperial Headquarters. He again met the Premier. The Foreign Minister asked him: 'Your audience with the Emperor today was

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quite long. What was the matter?' He (Premier) replied: 'It was nothing important.' During the conference, he called the Navy Minister out into the hallway and said: 'The fact is, I have decided to appoint Admiral SUETSUGU as Home Minister.' The Navy Minister was asked to give an ex post facto approval. I have discussed the matter with the Navy Minister, but if, by any chance, SUETSUGU should maintain a strong anti-British stand after he joins the Cabinet, the Navy Minister will be the first to oppose it. The Navy will oppose it by saying: 'It is outrageous to talk rashly about striking at England or somewhere else without considering the present national situation and the international circumstances. You are extremely lacking in prudence. That is not an act of loyalty to the nation.' The Cabinet might break down at that time."

On the way home, I (HARADA) stopped in at KIDO's place. I told KIDO the particulars of the Navy Minister's talk. KIDO said: 'The fact is, KONOYE asked me: 'Shall I consult the Navy Minister?' I replied: 'You can, if you have enough determination to resign should the Navy Minister oppose it. If you are determined to push it through even if he opposes it, then it would be better not to consult him.' That is probably why KONOYE didn't consult him." I (HARADA) asked KIDO: "Of course, you must have been consulted about this. You know very well what sort of person SUETSUGU is. His relationship with the Emperor hitherto has been very bad and I think that you know well what his relationship with HIRANUMA is. Why did you approve of this?" KIDO replied: "Isn't it better than having KONOYE resign? Anyway, if he should assume a position of responsibility, he won't be able to do anything serious. It's been said that his connections with MATSUI, Kuka are very deep. At present, there is absolutely no connection between the two. In fact, MATSUI, Kuka came over

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very angry as soon as he heard that SUETSUGU had become Home Minister. Their relationship is not good anymore. He is, however, rather close to YASUI, the former Education Minister. It was then that I thought that the fact that YASUI had gone to KONOYE's place the other night for dinner was connected with this problem. I (HARADA) said to KIDO: "At any rate, now that SUETSUGU has been appointed, you must guide him well with responsibility." Since I felt uneasiness in various aspects, I told KIDO about the fact that I heard that SUETSUGU had strongly supported, until now, the movement to include in the Imperial Edict of Amnesty, criminals who had participated in internal intrigue. I also went to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. It seemed that it had also been quite unexpected to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. He said that we must be very careful. I (HARADA) met such people like IKEDA and YUKI. They too, were very worried and said: "Won't the power of the right wing become too strong because of this?" SAKAMOTO, the former Chief of the Kempei-tai came to my place. He said: "State Councillor AKITA visited various reserve generals as if he were a messenger from Premier KONOYE. He went around saying: 'I'd like you to go on an inspection tour of North and South China.'" AKITA also stated: "The other day there was a discussion at the Cabinet meeting about whether we were going to strike at Canton or not. There was a Cabinet member who worried and said: 'International relations are very delicate because it is near to Amoy and Hongkong. What about our relations with Britain and France?' SUGIYAMA, the War Minister, replied: 'FURUSHO is in charge of that region. FURUSHO is very careful about such matters and it will probably be safe.' This has reached the young officers, and they are clamorous." He added: "It is distressing that the contents of the Cabinet

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meetings leak out like that." I (HARADA) asked KIDO about this by phone. Nothing like that had come up at the Cabinet meeting. I learned that it was all rumors.

On the morning of the 14th, I (HARADA) visited the Vice-Minister of the Navy again at the official residence at Reinanzaka. I told the Navy Vice-Minister: "The Premier intended to consult the Navy Minister before he petitioned the Emperor about appointing SUETSUGU as Home Minister. However, KIDO said: 'Since you are determined to make SUETSUGU the Home Minister, what are you going to do if you should consult him and he should oppose you? It's all right to consult him if you have the intention to resign at such a time. If you do not have the intention to resign and you are determined to have him, why should you force yourself to speak to the Navy Minister?' That is the reason KONOYE didn't consult the Navy Minister beforehand. KONOYE didn't intentionally refrain from speaking to the Navy Minister."

I (HARADA) again met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. I told him the particulars concerning the decision to appoint SUETSUGU. I said to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: "I wonder that the Emperor allowed it." He replied: "According to the Emperor, he had someone else in mind as successor to the Home Minister. However, since Premier KONOYE pressed his request for SUETSUGU, he (Emperor) felt that it was unavoidable. The Emperor is quite well aware of matters concerning Admiral SUETSUGU."

I (HARADA) met the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Foreign Ministry. He said: "The Naval Air Force bombed and sank an American merchant ship. At just about that time, an English warship was shelled at Nanking from the hills and men were wounded. This is really distressing. The English warship was, of course, a small warship for use on rivers."

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However, it was 26 miles upstream from Nanking. The regiment, of which HASHIMOTO Kingoro was commander, fired on it at the order of HASHIMOTO. The Foreign Minister intends to go immediately to the American Ambassador to express our regret, and send a note of regret to England. Furthermore, at the Cabinet meeting, we intend to express our regret to the United States and to Great Britain. The Naval Affairs Bureau Chief came over a short while ago and said: 'If possible, the Navy would like to ask the Emperor to send a personal telegram to the President of the United States and to the King of England.' We would like to study the situation a little more to see what happens and then take measures."

In the afternoon of the 14th, I (HARADA) departed for Shizuoka. I stayed there overnight. Before going to Prince SAIONJI's place in the morning, I phoned the Vice-Minister of Home Affairs and the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Board. I told them: "Admiral SUETSUGU has become the new Home Minister. It is said that he is very close to YASUI, the former Education Minister. You men should follow a just path in regard to administration. Why couldn't you teach him realistically that the viewpoint of the closest friends of the new Home Minister is very narrow-minded. In that sense, carry on boldly." Both were very happy to hear that.

Following this, I (HARADA) phoned Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO and asked about the recent situation. Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO said: "There is something that has made us very happy. The new Home Minister attended the liaison conference of the Grand Imperial Headquarters yesterday. As his first statement, he said: 'The peace terms, that is, the disposition of post war affairs, must be carried out very vigorously or it will be difficult to control the people and the military personnel in

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China. Half-hearted peace terms are no good.' Then Premier KONOYE stood up and imposingly expressed his own assertions: 'I oppose the purport of what the Home Minister just said. We must put out peace stipulations, the contents of which can be considered both at home and abroad, that Japan is just after all. The demands of Japan are fair and just. For Japan to demand anything impossible or unreasonable because the people can't be controlled or the military will make complaints, would affect the nation's prestige.' The new Home Minister withdrew his former statement and said: 'I shall accede to the opinion of the Premier.' The Navy Minister was very happy about it. He rejoiced saying: 'KONOYE indeed has his good points.'"

I (HARADA) was going to Okitsu from now to tell Prince SAIONJI the various facts about the appointment of the new Home Minister. I thought it was very distressing and felt that it would be rather difficult to discuss the matter. Now that I could also report the good points about KONOYE together with the other matter, I revived my spirits somewhat and left for Prince SAIONJI's place. I (HARADA) gave Prince SAIONJI a complete report of the changes in the situation since the last time, including the particulars about the assumption of office of the new Home Minister. He said something like: "It is very distressing that lately, I do not know the names of people, and there are many things I do not understand when I see the papers." Since I told him what had passed until now, he said: "Now I understand."

I (HARADA) returned to Tokyo from Shizuoka on the Fuji. That night, there was a meeting of the Juichinichi-kai (11th Day Society), and we were to gather at KIDO's place for dinner. Before I (HARADA) went to KIDO's place, I stopped in at IKEDA Seihin's place. IKEDA also seemed a little surprised that Admiral SUETSUGU had been made Home Minister. He said: "I had

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thought it would be good if KIDO Became the Home Minister."

On the morning of the 12th, when I had seen KONOYE, I had tried urging him: "Why not make KIDO the Home Minister?" Just then, KIDO came calling. I said to KIDO: "Take on the job." KONOYE jokingly had said: "What about handling two posts as Education Minister and Home Minister?"

That morning, when I saw Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu, Prince SAIONJI said: "I am wondering about the possibility of having KIDO as Home Minister." At that time, I told Prince SAIONJI: "It wouldn't be for KIDO's good if he were to be too presumptuous. The other way was probably better." I related this to IKEDA, and IKEDA said: "I agree with you."

On the morning of the 16th, I (HARADA) met the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. I told him various facts concerning the recent situation. After that, I met the Grand Chamberlain. The other day I had delivered a gift to Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu from the Emperor. Prince SAIONJI was very happy and said: "Please relay my appreciation to the Emperor through the Grand Chamberlain." The Grand Chamberlain said: "I have already taken steps to relay his appreciation."

I again talked fully to the Grand Chamberlain about the fact that Prince SAIONJI was still worried about the Emperor's relaxation. He told me that the War Minister had brought up the subject the other day. The Grand Chamberlain stated: "The Emperor is very careful. Even if we tell him, he holds back and does not relax. There is need for HIROMATA to urge him further."

On the way home, I (HARADA) went to the official residence of the Home Minister SUETSUGU to pay my respects. I spoke to him for the first time face to face. He said: "Prince SAIONJI must be worried in times such as these." I knew him by face,

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but I had never spoken to him. However, he received me gladly as if he had known me well from long ago. I said: "I hope we can be friends," and came home.

Later I (HARADA) met the Vice-Minister of the Navy. The Vice-Minister said: "It is truly regrettable that the U.S.S. Panay was bombed and sunk. We have changed the officer in charge and have ordered the cessation of air raids. We have done all that we can. Japan can do no more. The reason we changed the officer in charge was in the hopes that the Army might transfer Regimental Commander HASHIMOTO or make him resign. But just what is the Army going to do with him?"

Regarding the settlement of the affair of Col. HASHIMOTO Kingoro's firing on the English warship, he (YAMAMOTO) said: "We want the Army to do the proper thing just like the Navy toward England so that international courtesy can be maintained." The Vice-Minister of the Navy was very indignant saying: "The Army is really outrageous. I've been thinking HASHIMOTO might get hit by a bullet (die at the front), but he doesn't get hit." Not only that, but people like HASHIMOTO Kingoro tell the young officers they command: "The soldiers at the front are sacrificing their lives for the sake of the nation. The people on the home front should restore their fortunes to the Emperor." It is a fact that he has made them propagandize such a thing after they return (from the front to the homeland). Vice-Minister YAMAMOTO was very indignant.

The following was the opinion of YUKI, the Governor of the Bank of Japan and of IKEDA regarding the presentation of the problem of nationalizing electricity to the Cabinet meeting on the 17th: "NAGAI, the Communications Minister, wants to solve this problem in order to curry favor with the young renovationists (of the Communications Ministry). However, this

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is a very complicated problem. Foreign funds, or in other words, a great deal of foreign capital, has been invested (in the electricity firms). If we go according to the national management plan that is out now, foreign capital will gradually be withdrawn. When we want to borrow again, there is a fear that we may find ourselves in a situation in which we cannot borrow. In due consideration of this, we must control the arbitrary demands of the directors of the electricity firms to some extent. In order to do this, it should first be discussed at a Cabinet meeting before being presented to the Diet. It will be too late after it's been submitted to the Diet. We'd like to bring the matter to a close with a merger of perhaps five big electricity firms, with the Government entering into it in some form or another." I (HARADA) said: "Please explain this fully to the Navy Minister," and told the Vice Minister about this opinion. The Vice-Minister was very much in accord. I left with the parting message: "I'd like to have the Navy Minister also discuss this with YOSHINO, the Minister of Commerce and Industry."

On the night of the 16th, I (HARADA) returned to Oiso. In the morning of the 17th, I talked to Premier KONOYE by phone from Oiso. He said: "Please take the substance of the various conditions which were determined at the liaison conference of the Grand Imperial Headquarters held before the conference in the Imperial presence to Prince SAIONJI's place." I cut the phone after I asked him to send it over right away.

Field grade officers of the Army couldn't yet reach a decision (regarding the problem of nationalizing electricity). Therefore, the conference in the Imperial presence to be held on the 18th was unavoidably postponed. A Cabinet meeting was again held on the 18th, but the Cabinet was unable to decide on its attitude concerning that problem. Since they must be very careful, they were merely going ahead with the preparations.